THERE IS ONE GOD

ETERNAL TRUTH IS HIS NAME

PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

16/10/86.

BY

THE SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK
COMMITTEE, AMRITSAR

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FOREWORD

"Language differs from area to area and not from community to community. Thus Bengali is the language of both Hindus and Mussalmans of Bengal. So is the Gujarati of Gujrat and Punjabi of the Punjab. There is no division of the population in any part of India which coincides both in respect of language and religion. The distribution of languages is territorial and not communal or religious."

(Dr. Rajendra Prasad in India Divided).

And according to Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla "Punjabi literature, Geets and folklore express the longings, joys and sorrows which the Punjabis have experienced through the centuries. Punjabi is the essential part of the very being of the Punjabis. Without it they will be cut off from their past. Without Punjabi the Punjab will be anything but Punjab."

(Language policy of the All-India Radio by Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla.)

But the Sikhs feel that anything that the Sikhs touch though good in itself, becomes an abomination. A language is disowned because it has the misfortune of being patronised by the Sikhs. A script in which thousands of books of that language are written is unscientific because the religious books of the Sikhs are written in that script. They are termed as communal because they demand alongwith other Punjabis, demarcation of Punjabi-speaking State on linguistic basis as has been done in other parts of India. This was the reason which forced the great leader Sant Fateh Singh to declare his resolve to go on fast and seek self-immolation in order to achieve Punjabi Suba.

The pages that follow seek to clarify the correct position in respect of Punjabi Suba demand.

RAVEL SINGH, Advocate
MEMBER, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
24th February, 1966 OF THE SHIROMANI GURDWARA
PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE

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THE SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) is an elected body duly constituted under the Provisions of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925 and it consists of 160 members (140 elected, 5 ex-officio and 15 co-opted).

New election of the members of the S.G.P.C. was held in 1965. This time there were 23 Lakhs of Gurdwara voters.

The Executive Committee of the S.G.P.C. is elected by the members of the General Committee and every party gets proportionate representation in it according to the numerical strength of its members in the general house. It was unanimously decided by the Sikh Rights Protection Committee under the chairmanship of Sant Chanan Singh, President, S.G.P.C. that we, the following members of the S.G.P.C. should take necessary steps to give out true facts of our case to the members of the Parliament and to all men of goodwill.

The facts given in this brochure, therefore, represent the views of all the parties of the S.G.P.C. including the Sikh scheduled castes members. These views, therefore, represent the sentiments of the Sikh community as a whole and not those of any single group or party.

We may make it clear that the Regional formula, which was a compromise solution was opposed tooth and nail by the Arya Smajists of Jullundur Division and quite a large number of them were in the Congress. Under the instructions of the Home Department of Indian Union, the Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha by a ruling declared that the Regional Committees under the formula were just like other ordinary committees of the Assembly. This ruling sounded death knell of this formula, and this alternative to Punjabi Suba failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Punjab and now a stage has been reached where this formula with any modifications or improvements would not be acceptable to the protagonists of the Punjabi Suba demand.

The Punjabis are being deprived of their just and constitutional right and the Sikhs feel that they are not being trusted otherwise

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there was no reason why an exception should have been made in respect of formation of Punjabi Suba alone.

It is imperative that this demand of the Punjabis should be considered and conceded purely in consonance with the national sentiments and communal considerations should not be allowed to influence the decision in any manner.

1. Lachhman Singh Gill, M.L.A., General Secretary, S.G.P.C.
2. Santokh Singh Jathedar, Secretary, Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee Delhi state and member, S.G.P.C.
3. Charanjit Singh, Member, S.G.P.C.
4. Avtar Singh Kohli, Member, S.G.P.C.
5. Ravel Singh Advocate, Member Executive Committee, S.G.P.C.

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As a result of the acceptance of the democratic principle of the reorganization of States in India on the basis of language and culture, the demand for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State like similar other demands, naturally emerged as a genuine and and irrepressible voice of the people. All other states have been demarcated on linguistic basis with the exception of Punjabi Suba alone, which is justly agitating the minds of the Punjabis.

The demand, as put forward and enunciated by Sant Fateh Singh and other Punjabis, is simple, jsut, unambiguous and within the framework of the accepted principle. It seeks the formation of a State on the basis of its language, without any condition of or attempt to, securing a numerical majority for any particular class or community.

Every possible peaceful effort was made to prevail upon the Central leaders to form a Punjabi-speaking State and the Sikhs tried their utmost to dispel any possible mistrust against the centuries old perpetual, steadfast loyalty of Sikhs to their mother-land but all was in vain.

In such a predictment when arbiters of secular free India's destiny, in the last analysis, point blank refused a long standing genuine, logically supported constitutional demand of a patriotic people of unquestioned loyalty to their country, Sant Fateh Singh declared on the 16th of August, 1965 before the Holy Akal Takhat, Amritsar, that there was no alternative left for him except to take the extreme step of self-sacrifice in witness of holding aloft the sanctity of free India's secular constitution, in the making of which our holiest of holy Gurus and hundreds of thousands of saint-soldier, Sikh martyrs cheerfully laid down their precious lives during the last four centuries.

Sant Fateh Singh also declared at the same time that as an earnest, genuine evidence of his last bid for an honesty of purpose and in order not to embarrass the Government and taking the cognisance of late Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's appeal, he would wait for another 25 days upto 10th September, 1965 for the Government to reconsider its stand and thereafter he would take 15 days fast and if survived he would end his life by self-immolation on 25th September, 1965. Santji also warned

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any mediators or arbitrators not to approach him with anything short of Punjabi Suba.

During this period the war broke out between India and Pakistan and keeping in view the previous traditions of the Sikhs, Santji was ordered by the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal to postpone his decision of fast and self-immolation.

Santji's this step was welcomed throughout the country and Rashtrapati Dr. Radhakrishnan on 11.9.65 in his address to the Nation referring to the demand of Punjabi Suba announced that he was sure that a solution of this problem would be found out to the satisfaction of Santji.

On 23rd of September, 1965 Home Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda made a statement in the Parliament wherein he stated :

"I am sure I am voicing the opinion of everyone in this House and outside that we were greatly relieved to learn that particularly in the face of Pakistan's aggression Sant Fateh Singh did not pursue the idea of his fast, and as expected of a distinguished patriotic leader, gave his whole hearted support to the defence efforts. In my statement on September 6, I had said that the whole question could be examined afresh with an open mind and the Government would be prepared to have further talks on the subject."

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda also pointed out in his statement that a co-operative solution would be discovered based on good-will and a reasoned approach.

A Cabinet Committee consisting of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Y. B. Chavan and Shri Mahavir Tyagi was formed to pursue this matter further. The Speaker of Lok Sabha and Chairman of Rajya Sabha were requested to set up a Committee of Parliament presided over by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha for this purpose.

The following Bulletin was issued on 28th September, 1965 regarding the personnel of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba :

LOK SABHA

BULLETIN—PART II

(General Information relating to Parliamentary and other matters).

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Tuesday, September 28, 1965/Asvina 6, 1887 (Saka)

No. 1433

Personnel of the Parliamentary Committee on the Demand for Punjabi Suba.

The Speaker has nominated the following members of Lok Sabha to the Parliamentary Committee on the demand for Punjabi Suba :

1. Dr. M. S. Aney
2. Shri Mani Ram Bagri
3. Chodhury Brahm Parkash
4. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy
5. Sardar Dhanna Singh Gulshan
6. Shri Hem Raj
7. H.H. Maharaja Karni Singhji of Bikaner
8. Shri Lehri Singh
9. Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia
10. Shri K. D. Malaviya
11. Shri H. N. Mukherjee
12. Shri Krishna Chandra Pant
13. Shri Sadhu Ram
14. Shri Amar Nath Vidyalankar

The Chairman, Rajya Sabha, has nominated the following members of Rajya Sabha to the Committee

1. Shri Bansi Lal
2. Shri Uttam Singh Duggal
3. Shri Jogendra Singh
4. Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel
5. Shri Sadiq Ali
6. Kumari Shanta Vashisht
7. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee

(N.B. The Speaker, Lok Sabha, is the Chairman of the Committee).

S. L. SHAKDHER,
Secretary.

The Parliamentary Committee on the issue of Punjabi Suba invited memoranda from public for and against the Punjabi Suba demand. This committee also examined witnesses on the point. As appears from the press, the result was that it had become clear that the only co-operative solution of the problem is to form

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Punjabi Suba and Hariana Prant by declaring the present Punjabi Region as Punjabi Suba and Hindi Region as Hariana Prant excepting Kangra and Simla districts which should be merged with Himachal Pradesh. About 5000 memoranda and resolutions had been sent to the Parliamentary Committee. The details as gathered from the press are as under :

Total number of memoranda and resolutions etc.	5000
Number of memoranda in favour of change i.e. in favour of formation of Punjabi Suba, Hariana Prant and merger of Kangra and Simla Districts with Himachal Pradesh	4100
Against any change	900

Position of the members of Punjab Vidhan Sabha who have sent memoranda

	in favour of change	*against*
(A) Total ...	69	7
Congress ...	45	7
Opposition Parties ...	24	—
(B) Sikh MLAs ...	44	—
Hindu MLAs ...	23	7
Muslim MLAs ...	2	—
(C) Scheduled castes ...	13	6
Other	56	1

The above table leaves no doubt in any mind, as to what is the opinion of the Punjabis in this respect.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee hopes that the Central Government would fulfil its pledge given in the Parliament by the Home Minister and would not do anything which may create an impression amongst the Sikhs that the pledges given by the Government to the Sikhs are never fulfilled and in spite of their so much loyalty to their country they are not treated at par with other Indians.

It has also become clear that opposition to this demand comes from vested interests, both political and economic and wherever there is any proposal which goes against these interests, they, with their resources, means of publicity and influence, create such a

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confusion that merits of the real issue are lost sight of.

After the appointment of the Parliamentary Committee on the demand for Punjabi Suba, these vested interests are now trying with their full force to create confusion and absolutely unfounded and baseless apprehensions in the mind of the public.

All the objections raised by these interests are baseless and have no force in them. The main objections raised by them are given hereunder :

I. Public Opinion regarding Punjabi Suba.

Public opinion is now clear and more vocal in favour of Punjabi Suba and Hariana Prant. The present Punjab consists of two legally recognised distinct Regions i.e. Punjabi Region and Hindi Region. After the failure of the 1857 revolution (Ghadar) the British Government amalgamated Haryana area with the real Punjab as a matter of penalty for the people of that area for taking active part in that movement. The Haryana area speaks Hindi as its mother-tongue and is demarcated as Hindi Region in the present Punjab. People of this region now want that the British-imposed penalty of 1857 must be removed from over them by separating this region from Punjab and forming it into a separate-Hindi speaking State of their own as Haryana Prant.

Thus the position as it stands at present is that almost all the population of Hindi Region is in favour of demarcation of boundaries of Punjab on linguistic basis and a large majority of the Punjabi-speaking area too is in its favour. Akali Party, Republican Party, Communists, Praja Socialist Party, Socialist Party of India and Swatantra Party support this demand fully. There is a sharp division of opinion in the Congress Party and Jan Sangh on the matter.

A section of Arya Samajists of Jullundur Division is against this demand but on the other hand the Arya Samajists of Hindi Region are practically leading the agitation for the separation of Haryana Prant from Punjabi Suba.

Out of 87 MLAs of Punjabi Region about 46 MLAs have supported this demand through memoranda to the Parliamentary Committee and only 6 MLAs from Punjabi Region have sent memoranda against this demand. Almost all the Zilla Parishads have expressed their opinion in favour of Punjabi Suba.

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More than 90% of the MLAs of Haryana area are in favour of Haryana Prant and almost all the MLAs of Kangra District want that their district should be merged with Himachal Pradesh.

Out of about 5000 memoranda and resolutions sent to the Parliamentary Committee about 4100 are in favour of the above referred to change and only about 900 are against any change. It is, thus, clear that a very large section of the public is in favour of Punjabi Suba.

II. Position of the Scheduled Castes.

Persons opposing Punjabi Suba have given wrong version in their memoranda as regards the numerical strength of the Sikh Scheduled Castes as also the stand of the scheduled castes in respect of Punjabi Suba. The following facts will clarify the whole position ;

Numerical Strength

	Population	*Scheduled Castes*
Punjab	20306812	4139106
Punjabi Region	11521439	2546651
Hindi Region	8785373	1592455

(Statistical Abstract of Punjab 1964)

Separate figures regarding the Sikh Scheduled Castes are not tabulated in 1961 census report but a clear picture can be formed from 1941 census report and from the figures collected by the Punjab Government in 1959 for the formation of constituencies for the election of members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. There are certain persons who have dared to submit in their memoranda to the consultative committee of the Parliament that there are about 30 or 35 lakhs Mazhabi Sikhs in Punjabi Region whereas total member of Scheduled Castes in this region is only 2546651 including the Hindu Scheduled Castes. It is also submitted that the number of Hindu Scheduled Castes is larger than the Sikh Scheduled Castes in this region as the figures given below would amply testify :

(*a*) On page 41 of Census of India 1941 Vol. VI Punjab the number of the Sikhs and the Mazhabi Sikhs in Punjab (British Territory) is given as under :

Total Sikh population in Punjab ...	3736638
Mazhabi Sikhs ...	338729

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(*b*) Number of caste, Hindus and Hindu Scheduled Castes in British territory (Punjab) in 1941 was as follows :

Caste Hindus	...	6301737
Scheduled Castes including Adharmies.	...	1592320

(Page 42)

(*c*) Figures collected by the Punjab Government in 1959 for the purpose of demarcation of constituencies for the election of members of the S.G.P.C. are as under :

Total Sikh Population in Punjab in 1959	...	6157846
Scheduled Caste Sikhs	...	1007569

(*d*) According to their numerical strength, out of 140 seats, 20 seats are reserved for the Sikh Scheduled Castes in the S.G.P..C. These include the other Scheduled Caste Sikhs also besides the Mazhabi Sikhs.

(*e*) The above facts leave no doubt in any mind that member of the Scheduled Caste Sikhs, even though if calculated very liberally is not more than 15% of the total Sikh population in Punjabi Region i.e., it is between 9 and 10 lakhs which includes the Mazhabi Sikhs, Ramdasia Sikhs, Kabir Panthies and other Scheduled Caste Sikhs and in whole of the Punjab it is between 10 and 11 lakhs. Number of the Mazhabi Sikhs does not exceed 5 or 6 lakhs.

Opinion of the Scheduled Castes

On the basis of reports appearing in the Press regarding the Memoranda submitted to the Consultative Committee of Parliament, it can be said that overwhelming majority of the scheduled castes is in favour of carving out the boundaries of the Punjab on linguistic basis :

(1) Republican Party is the only party which can be said to be the sole party of the Scheduled Castes and is a recognised political party. This party is in favour of Punjabi Suba.

(2) 13 Scheduled Caste members of the Vidhan Sabha have favoured a change and 6 members are against any change. No Sikh Scheduled Caste MLA has submitted any memorandum against the Punjabi Suba demand.

Punjabi Suba not harmful to Scheduled Castes

Punjabi Suba will not be harmful to the Scheduled Castes but

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on the other hand it would strengthen their position due to the following reasons :

(a) Sir Arnold Tynbee writes in his foreword 'The Sacred writings of the Sikhs' (Unesco collection of Representative works : Indian Series).

"of all known religious scriptures this book (Sri Guru Granth Sahib) is the most highly venerated. The Adi Granth is the Sikhs' perpetual Guru".

And Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India in his introduction to the said book points out. "A remarkable feature of Adi-Granth is that it contains the writings of the religious teachers of Hinduism, Islam etc."

Guru Granth Sahib contains the hymns of

(1) Kabir, a weaver by profession of Benaras.

(2) Namdev, a tailor born at Narsi Bamni in Maharashtra.

(3) Ravidas, a cobbler.

(4) Sain, a barber to Prince of Rewa.

the Sikhs have, therefore, greatest respect for these Bhagats whose hymns have been included in Guru Granth Sahib.

Guru Gobind Singh brushed aside the opposition of the caste Hindus and went ahead to baptise *disciples* coming from low castes alongwith caste Hindus. He honoured them with the apethet "From top to toe, whatever I call my own, all I possess or carry, I dedicate to these people" .

(Page 272, The Sacred writings of the Sikhs)

(b) Out of 140 seats, tewnty seats are reserved for the Scheduled castes in the membership of S.G.P.C. which controls and manages the historic Sikh Gurdwaras.

(c) There are about 800 Gurdwara Committees for the management of Sikh Gurdwaras and under the Provisions of the Sikh Gurdwaras act, one seat out of five members of each Gurddwara Committee is to be filled by a member of the Sikh Scheduled caste.

Nowhere in India or even in the world such a position is given to the Scheduled castes to manage the religious places.

(d) There are hundreds of Scheduled caste Sikhs serving as priests managers and Ragis etc. in Sikh Gurdwaras.

(e) Akali movement regarding the management of Golden Temple was started due to the reasons that the priests of the

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Golden Temple refused to offer prayer for the low caste men who were baptised.

(Gurdwara Reform movement page 151)

(f) In the Punjabi Region the numerical strength of different communities would be as under:

(1) Sikhs other than the Scheduled Castes about ...	49 lakhs
(2) Caste Hindus	38 lakhs
(3) Scheduled Castes	25 lakhs
(4) Others	3 lakhs
Total ...	115 lakhs

Thus no single community would be in the absolute majority in Punjabi-speaking State and nationalism in the real sense would prevail in this state. The balance would be with the Scheduled castes and no community would dare to ignore their interests.

All these facts go to prove that the Scheduled caste people would have absolutely no fears on the formation of Punjabi Suba rather they will be gainers.

III. Punjabi Suba not Harmful to the Hindus

The Hindus form 63.67% of the total pupulation in Punjab according to 1961 Census Report and the Sikhs are 33.33% of the Punjab population. The population figures are given below:-

	Total Population	*Hindus*	*Sikhs*
Punjab	20306812	12930045 about	6769129 about
Punjabi Region	11521439	51 Lakhs.	62 Lakhs.
Hindi Region	8785373	78 Lakhs.	54 Lakhs

(Statistical Abstract of Punjab 1964)

It need not be mentioned here that a very large number of Hindus residing in Hindi Region are in favour of demarcation of boundaries of Punjab on linguistic basis. Almost all the sections of Kangra District want that Kangra may be merged with Himachal Pradesh. Similarly Hindus of Haryana Prant including the Arya Samajists are in favour of formation of a separate

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Haryana Prant. A considerable number of Hindus of Punjabi Region is also in favour of Punjabi Suba—as the Communist Party, Republican Party, Praja Socialist Party and Swatantra Party of this Region have expressed their opinion in favour of the Punjabi Suba.

Only a small section of urban Arya Smajists of Jullundur Division is vigorously opposing this demand and as this section is resourceful in every respect, (politically and economically), it is creating some baseless misunderstanding among the non-Punjabis by giving out that if Punjabi Suba is formed, it would not be possible for the Hindus to live in this region. It will become a place of constant communal strife and that this border state will prove another Pakistan in due course.

We, on behalf of the S.G.P.C., want to assure our Indian brehren that Shri Guru Gobind Singh made Nationalism a religion of the Sikhs and all that was calculated to foster a national sentiment was incorporated as articles of faith in the Khalsa and true Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh cannot go against the very principles of their religion.

The Sikhs are not Against the Hindus

"The object that Guru Gobind Singh set before himself was to infuse a new life into the dead bones of Hindus, to make them forget their differences and present a united front against the tyranny and persecution to which they were subjected, in one word, to make once more a living nation of them and enable them to regain their lost independence." (*Transformation of Sikhism* (Page 78)

1. Guru Tegh Bahadur, the 9th Guru of the Sikhs, gave his life for the protection of "*Tilak and Janjoo*".
2. Guru Gobind Singh's whole family sacrificed their lives for the cause of uplifting the nation.
3. In every sphere of life the Sikhs served the nation out of proportion of their numerical strength.
4. The Sikhs as a community waged a relentless life and death struggle, spreading over more or less than one hundred years (1669 to 1769—see Dr. Hari Ram Gupta's and Dr. Gokal Chand Narang's Histories of Sikhs), first against the Mughal Imperialism and then contributed their lions-share in India's freedom fights against the British,

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right from Anglo-Sikh wars of 1845-46 passing through Baba Ram Singh Namdhari's anti-British Kuka Movement (1872) and acting as spearhead vanguards in 1907-8, 1914-15 (Ghadar and Kamagata Maru episodes) and Akali-cum-Babar-Akali movements (1921-25) and then in Congress Movements of peaceful Satyagrahs and in Gandhiji's 'Do or Die' upheaval of 1942-43. This was all for our cherished country's deliverance from foreign yoke, mostly for the sake of socio-political well-being of the last Hindu fraternity, because their own socio-political well-being is inalienable from that of their Hindu brethren and rest of their follow countrymen.

5. This is why again the Sikhs as a community preferred to cast their lot with Hindudom in India at the time of 1947 partition even at the cost of their sacred shrines, rich colonies, and other vast landed assets, left in West Pakistan and this too despite the fact that the British, in whose hands then lay India's destiny, had declared plans for insuring and accommodating Sikh's separate political entity in the new set up of things as a third major community. The Sikhs made their decision in utter disregard of British overtures, simply because they regarded Hindus in Punjab and India as flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood. It may be noted that virtually the sub-continent was partitioned into Muslim and non-Muslim parts.

6. This is why again an orthodox Hindus of the late lamented Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's status had once advised Hindus of Punjab and India to baptise one of their sons in each family as a 'Singh' so as to bring Swaraj nearer. When in 1935-36 late Doctor B. R. Ambedkar was in great mental ferment to leave Hindu fold with crores of his backward class followers and embrace some semitic faith Pt. Malaviya, Dr. Moonze, Dr. Kurtakoti, Shankra Acharya of Nasik Math, Seth Jugal Kishore Birla etc., all orthodox Hindus, tried to persuade him to adopt Sikhism, in preference to any semitic faith. These eminent Hindus did so because they regarded Sikhism and Sikhs as their own. Khalsa College at Bombay still stands a monument to their historic pursuation.

7. Despite a number of provocative occasions created by

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vested interests in the last 18 years of past independence period, the Sikhs never took into their heads to enter into any communal scuffles with their Hindu brethren.

8. At the time of Partition of the country practically Government was helpless in the Punjab. On the 15th of August 1947 almost all the policemen who were Muslims left the Amritsar City Police Station taking away the guns and all the ammunition with them and there was a great danger to Amritsar City when the S.G.P.C. offered its employees to work as policemen in all the Police Stations of Amritsar City. Arms and ammunition were also supplied to them by the S.G.P.C. But there is not a single instance where any Hindu might have a cause of complaint against the Sikhs.
9. During the recent conflict with Pakistan the Sikh Kisans served the Army irrespective of their religion or state. Again there was no cause of complaint to any Hindu in rural areas lying on the border even in these disturbed days.
10. Both the Punjabi Suba agitations were started between the years 1951 and 1961 but at the time of census operations of 1961. percentage of Hindus has increased in the Sikh majority Districts of Punjab. (Appendix I) which clearly shows that this baseless fear has been created by the Jullundur Arya Smajists simply to prejudice the mind of other Indians against the Sikhs.
11. The Sikhs are 1.79% of the total population of India and in Punjab they form 33.33% of the population. They can live in India but the Hindus will not be able to live in a State within Indian union where they may be between 45% and 50% of the population. This mentality should not be encouraged at any cost because it would be very harmful to the national integrity of India.

Where we differ?

They (Hindus) had religion but no national feelings. The only way to make a nation of them was to make nationalism their Religion.

(*Transformation of Sikhism* P.80)

This was the idea when Guru Gobind Singh gave the new slogan to the country that "*Dehra Masit Soi, Puja au namaz oi*", i.e.

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He is in the temple as He is in the mosque;
He is in the Hindu worship as He is in the Muslim prayer;
Men are one though they appear different,
Gods and demons who guard the treasures,
Of the god of riches, the musicians celestial.
The Hindus and the Muslims are all one,
Have each the habits of a different environments,
But all men have the same eyes, the same body,
The same form compounded of the same four elements,
Earth, air, fire, and water.
Thus the Abhekh of the Hindus and the Allah of Muslims are one,
The Koran and the Purans praise the same Lord.
They are all of one form,
The One Lord made them all.

But now the Congress, Praja Socialist Party and all other political parties of India have adopted this policy. If the Sikhs want and say that there should be no communalism in India and all the Indians should be treated alike, it is not against the interests of India. Loyalties of the Sikhs should not be doubted for adopting this policy.

Otherwise whenever any emergency had arisen for the protection of India or its culture, the Sikhs remained in the forefront.

It is amply clear from all these facts that the propaganda carried on by Jullundur Division Hindus that Punjabi Suba would be harmful to the Hindus is baseless.

IV. Demand of the Independent Sikh State in 1946

In the pre-partition days, not alone the Sikhs, but the Hindus and the Sikhs together, raised their voice for a Sikh Homeland with a view to save Punjab from the clutches of prospective Pakistan. The demand was put forth in the interests of the country and nation and it was sponsored by the Hindus and the Sikhs alike. The following references from various Dailies will bear it out very strongly:-

1. *Daily Milap:* Editorial Note of Daily Milap appearing in its issue of 23rd March, 1946 on page 3 under the caption 'Azad Sikh State' gives its unequivocal support to the demand of 'Azad Sikh State.'

2. In leading Article on page 3 of the 'Daily Milap' dated

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March 31, 1946, the Editor stresses the reasons for the demand of Sikhistan and states that the "demand of Sikhistan is not a communal one and is being pressed as a counter move to the demand of Pakistan. We, therefore, fully support this demand."

3. The Milap dated 3rd April, 1946 published a memorandum of the Punjab Hindu Sabha presented to the Cabinet Mission on Page 6 wherein the Sabha supported the demand of the 'Azad Sikh State' on behalf of the Punjab Hindus.

4. Similarly, the news appearing in Milap dated 13.6.46 on page 5 and in Milap dated 12.6.46 on Page 9 give out that the Hindus and the Sikhs were united during the critical days of the pre-partition era. Dr. Shyama Prashad Mukerji and Master Tara Singh moved hand in hand during that period.

(*b*) *Daily Partap;*

1. In an Editorial note on Page 3 of Daily Partap dated 10.1.1947, the call for a united stand by non-Congress Hindus and the Sikhs was issued.

2. A news item appeared on last page of 'Daily Partap' dated 3.7.1947 in which Shri Parshotam Das Tandon is said to have proposed a common front of the Hindus and the Sikhs.

(*c*) *Daily Hindustan Times:*

1. A news item appearing on Page 7, Col. 3 of the Daily Hindustan Times dated 25th March, 1947 shows how united the Sikhs and the Hindus were in opposition to Pakistan and in support of the Sikh cause. (Appendix II).

2. A similar conclusion will be arrived from the perusal of the news on Page 3 of the 'Hindustan Times' dated March 5, 1947 (Appendix III).

(*d*) *The Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore.*

1. An extract from the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, March 25, 1947, reveals that the Hindus were supporting the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh with funds, moral and active support to further the cause of the Sikhs and oppose the demand of Pakistan. (Appendix IV).

The above statements will prove that the Hindus also stressed in pre-partition days that:-

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"The Sikhs have as good claim for an independent Sikh State as the Musalmans."

"The claim for a Muslim Pakistan should not be conceded to the Musalmans without, at the same time, conceding the claim for an independent Sikh State to the Sikhs".

It is hypocrisy and no less than this, that these references be used to dub a legitimate and just demand at the present changed circumstances. Now the demand for a Punjabi Suba is being made on the basic principle of linguistic States, which has been applied elsewhere in India.

V Economic Viability of the State.

At the time of formation of other States on linguistic basis, similar objections were raised but now those states are carrying on their business satisfactorily. At the time of passage of Andhra State Bill. Dr. K.N. Katju, the then Home Minister, replied to all these questions. As for the smallness of the states is concerned, he pointed out that he did not think consideration of population etc. need very much matter. In the United States, there was New York having the largest population and Rhodes Island having about 3½ Lakhs of population.

The population of the Panjabi Suba would be 11521439. This state would be within Indian Union and therefore, in the words of Dr. K. N. Katju population need not very much matter. There are 83 countries which are members of the United Nations and which have a population less than the population of Punjabi Suba. Population figures of a few of these countries is given hereunder:-

Name of the country	*Population*	*Date of U.N. membership*
Algeria	10784269	Oct. 8,1962
Austria	7150700	Dec. 14, 1955
Belgium	9251414	Dec. 27,1945
Ceylon	10624507	Dec. 14,1955
Denmark ...	4653991	Oct. 24,1945
Iraq	6803153	Dec. 21,1945
Ireland	2841000	Dec. 14,1955
Sweeden	7581237	Nov. 19,1946

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Saudi Arabia	...	6036400	Oct. 24,1945
Kuwait	...	321000	May. 14,1963

(Charter of United Nations pages 20 to 23)

Density of population in Punjabi Suba as compared with some other states of Indian Union would be as under:-

Name of State	*Density per sq. mile*
Punjabi Region	557
Hindi Region	322
Bihar	661
Kerala	1127
Madras	668
Uttar Pradesh	634
West Bengal	1032

Per capita income in Punjabi Suba would be more than any other State in India:-

Per capita income:

1. Punjabi Region ... ... Rs. 416
2. Hindi Region ... ... Rs. 374
3. Andhra Pradesh ... ... Rs. 331
4. Bihar ... ... Rs. 184
5. Gujarat ... ... Rs. 355
6. Rajasthan ... ... Rs. 342
7. Maharashtra ... ... Rs. 389
8. Mysore ... ... Rs. 280
9. Uttar Pradesh ... ... Rs. 161 (*Statistical abstract of Punjab*, 1964)

Food production per 1000 persons:

1. Punjabi Region ... ... 360 Tons.
2. Assam ... ... 150 Tons.
3. Hindi Region ... ... 194 Tons.
4. U.P. ... ... 149 Tons.
5. Rajasthan ... ... 194 Tons.
6. Bihar ... ... 142 Tons.

No other state in India produces as much foodgrain per capita as is done in Punjabi Region.

(Statistical Abstract of Punjab, 1964 pages 58 to 79)

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Similarly Revenue of the Punjabi Region is more than any other state in India as compared with the population of each state. In 1964-65 Punjab received only Rs. 275 Lakhs as grant in-aid from Central Government and it had a surplus budget of Rs. 604.98 Lakhs and in 1965-66 the estimated income is more than expenditure by Rs. 231.63 lakhs.

All these figures should leave no doubt in any mind that if 'Kisans' and 'Jawans' of Punjab are satisfied they would give more food production to India and they would make this State economically more sound.

VI. Is it a communal demand ?

The demand is not communal but its opposition comes from communal forces. Shri Ashok Mehta has rightly said in the Parliament during the debate on the States Organisation Bill 1956, when he warned, "It is amazing to find that while a great minority community is sought to be integrated, another great community, the majority community is not prepared even in a region to accept the position of a minority. How are we ever going to integrate a minority in the body politics of our country, if everywhere in every condition, in every position, in every state, in every circumstances, the majority community insists upon being majority".

The Sikhs always served as spearhead of the national forces. Sir Gokal Chand Narang writes in his book 'Transformation of Sikhism', "Since the fall of Anangpal, no political leader had arisen in the Punjab. Although some Hindu Zamindars who called themselves Rajas still lurked and lingered in the mountain fastnesses of Kangra, the Hindus had ceased to exist a political power in the Punjab. Guru Nanak had considerably elevated the morals of the Punjab Hindus, and other predecessors of Guru Govind had done something to make a peaceful organisation of them. But the work of evolving a body of men inspired by the sane and high political aspirations was reserved for the exceptional genius of Govind. . . . . .

"They (Hindus) had religion but no national feeling. The only way to make a nation of them was to make nationalism their religion. And Guru Govind Singh did make nationalism a religion with them, and all that was calculated to foster a national sentiment was incorporated as articles of faith in this new creed." (Page 80)

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For this purpose Guru Govind Singh's great-grand-father Guru Arjan Dev suffered martyrdom at the altar of his faith. Guru Govind Singh's grand father Guru Hargovind was arrested and deported to Gwalior, His (Guru Govind Singh's) father Guru Tegh Bahadur was beheaded in 1675 by Aurangzeb's orders. Guru's two sons laid down their lives for the noble cause while fighting with the Moghal Army at Chamkaur Sahib and his other two younger sons were put alive under the foundation of a wall under the orders of the Moghal Governor of Sirhind and the place was closed up and thus these two infants of the ages of only 7 and 9 years were buried alive. Guru's mother died of grief at the sad end of her grand children. Guru's five maternal uncles and five cousins died while fighting with the Moghal armies at different places. No other example can be found in the history of the world where five generations have continuously secrified their lives for the cause of uplifting a downt rodden nation.

Guru Govind Singh baptised the Sikhs and gave them a common uniform and inspired every Sikh with an unconquerable spirit.

We need not repeat here the whole history, how the Sikhs passed through horrible ordeals in fighting against the tyrrany of the Moghals and the English for the freedom of the country and for protection of the Indian culture.

Malcolm points out in "A Sketch of the Sikhs" at page 53 that no Hindu in Panjab was (in eighteenth century) allowed to grow long hair or beard anyone refusing to shave being liable to instant death.

It was also made criminal for any one to entertain a Sikh, give him refuge under his roof or help him in any way. Malcolm also points out, "The tradition is still fresh in the Punjab how a mother then used to answer the question, how many sons have you got ? I had four, the mother said, but one has become a Sikh. To be a Sikh was to court certain death."

Kuka, Ghadar and Akali movements were some phases of the traditions of the Sikhs.

Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Tuker of the Eastern Command points out in his book "While Memory Serves" published in 1940 in England by Butler and Tanner Limited, London at page 277, "We wished to see the Sikhs put wholly under Pakistan. But the

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Sikhs opted to remain with Indian Union and suffered much due to partition of the country".

Again after independence, the Sikhs always remained in the forefront when they were needed for the defence of the country. The Sikhs are only 1.79% of the population of India but if list of martyrs and wounded Jawans in the recent conflict with Pakistan is perused, one feels proud of them as their number in this list is 50% of the total casualties and it is out of any proportion to their population. The Sikh Kisans have also played a praiseworthy role in liquidating the Pakistan paratroopers in Panjab and in helping the fighting forces in this conflict with Pakistan.

But in spite of the heavy price the Sikhs paid for the freedom of the country, they feel that they are not being treated as equal citizens of India. A demand, which is national otherwise, becomes communal if it betters the percentage of Sikhs in a certain area. Such an attitude would mean subscribing to the belief that the interests of the Sikhs are opposed to the interests of the Hindus, that the gain of one must necessarily be the loss of the other. This is exactly what a communalis' believes in and what inspires all his actions. The Sikhs do not demand the price for their sacrifices but they expect that they should be treated at par with others.

VII. Punjabi is the Dominant Language of Punjab

Punjabi is the dominant language of the Punjab. Late Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a message to the 72,000 newly elected Panches and Sarpanches of the 13,422 panchayats in the State of Punjab on the eve of their taking oath stated, "Punjabi is the main language of Punjab. It should be promoted in every way. Many people in the state also speak Hindi but Punjabi in particular is the language of Punjab."

(The Tribune, December 21, 1960.)

Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Laul, Superintendent of Census Operations Punjab 1911 in his report observes on page 366, "The comparative strength of the three languages, namely; Punjabi, Urdru and Hindi is 14,11,215 Punjabi, 494290 Urdu, 1,78,876 Hindi. Thus eight out of every 10 inhabitants of the Punjab speak Punjabi as a vernacular while the other two speak Urdu, Hindi and other languages."

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Mr. S. M. Jacob, Superintendent Census Operations, Punjab writes in his report of the census of the Punjab and Delhi 1921 at page 313, "Punjabi is the dominant language of the Punjab" and at page 308 he observes: "The Punjabi is spoken by 60.6 percent of the Punjab and western Pahari which belongs to the same sub-branch is the language of 4.4 percent of the population. Western Hindi, which comprises Urdu, Hindustani and other Hindi dialects as used in the eastern districts of the Punjab and Delhi is spoken by 14.2 and 94.1 percent and Rajasthani by 2.8 and 2.3 percent of the population in the Punjab and Delhi provinces respectively."

Right from Census Report of 1891 upto Census Report of 1931 there was no change in the results of the language returns. Percentage of Punjabi-speaking persons in the following few districts of the Punjab from 1891 to 1931, is given hereunder for instance:

	1891	1911	1921	1931
1. Gurdaspur	99.4	99.1	99.0	98.9
2. Amritsar	98.2	98.2	98.5	97.2
3. Ferozepore	92.8	89.6	93.3	90.3
4. Ludhiana	98.5	99.0	99.2	97.8
5. Jullundur	98.6	99.0	98.0	99.5
6. Hoshiarpur	99.9	99.4	99.9	99.8

Language figures were not tabulated in the 1941 Census Report and separate language figures of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi were not given in the Census Report of 1951. During the census of 1961 narrow-minded Hindus of Jullundur Division, disowned Punjabi as their mother tongue and thus language returns were falsified.

The following figures showing difference in the census of 1931 and 1961 about the percentage of the Punjabi speaking people in the important districts of this zone would testify to the fact of this poisonous communal propaganda:-

	1931 to *1961*	
1. Gurdaspur	98.9	49.7
2. Ferozepore	90.2	66.9

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3.	Amritsar	97.2	76.5
4.	Ludhiana	97.8	76.5
5.	Jullundur	99.5	61.2
6.	Hoshiarpur	99.8	47.0

The most unfortunate aspect of this perjury on the part of this section had its effect on the communal atmosphere in the State, when it had been found that persons like Lala Jagat Narain, M.P. and Shri Yash M.L.A. were the main force behind this propaganda. Lala Jagat Narain admits in his signed article in his newspaper dated 21.10.65 that his mother tongue is Punjabi but he returned it as Hindi at the time of Census Operations simply to ward off Punjabi Suba.

SCRIPT OF PUNJABI LANGUAGE

There is no controversy over the script of Punjabi language but some sections are again raising this question to confuse the issue of Punjabi Suba with the script of Punjabi Language.

Its Script

The Gurmukhi script is not a foreign script, it derives its ancestory from the Brahmi, Kharoshte, Bhatakshri and Sharda (Kashmiri) script. Some ancient relics found in village Hathur, District Ludhiana show that this script was in use even before Shri Guru Nanak Dev.

In Pujab most of the books even in Hindi and Sanskrit languages were used to be written in Gurmukhi script between the period of 16th century upto the end of 19th century.

Dasam Granth, Guru Granth Sahib, Panth Parkash and other Sikh religious books were written in Gurmukhi script though they contain languages other than Punjabi Language.

Books relating to Hindi religion were also being written in Gurmukhi script in the Punjab.

The Punjab Government has published in 2 volumes a list of hand written manuscripts, that are laying in different libraries in the Punjab. Names of some of these are given below, which prove beyond doubt that the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab were using Gurmukhi script for writing their books even in Sanskrit and Hindi languages :

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Name of the Book	*Period when written*	*Reference in "Panjabi Hath Likhtan Di Soochi" glossary of Panjabi Hand wirtten manuscripts*
1. Sam Ved	1776 Bikrami	Volume II page 2
2. Vedant Granth	100 years old	,, ,, 4
3. Yajur Ved	1838 Bikarmi	,, ,, 141
4. Sam Ved	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
5. Atharv Ved	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
6. Vedant Prebhakha	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
7. Ram Geeta	,, ,,	,, ,, 143

There are about 200 such books which are either Sruti Granth, Puran Katha, Ram and Krishna Sahit.

"The script of Panjabi is as definite as the language itself. Gurmukhi as the script is called not an adoptation of Dev Nagri as is wrongly believed by some nor is Dev Nagri suitable to express Punjabi phonetics. Punjabi does not have conjoint consonants and Dev Nagri which is suited to express a language employing double consonants is therefore, unsuitable for writing Panjabi."

(Dr. Mohan Singh—*Tribune*, March 21, 1954).

The Sikhs are not against the Hindi or Dev Nagri script. In the Constituent Assembly all the Sikh members gave unqualified support to Hindi in Dev Nagri script as national language. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has published more than 40 books in Dev Nagri script and perhaps this number may be greater than the books (leaving aside the text books) published by any other association in Punjab. These publications include the Holy Volume of Shri Guru Granth Sahib also.

The S.G.P.C. is of the view that both Punjabi and Hindi languages should be learnt by the Panjabis. Panjabi is the State language and Hindi is our national language. The Sikhs are not against any of these languages but the Jullundur Arya Smajists who speak Panjabi language and write in Urdu script are

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definitely neither serving Nationalism nor the National language by their narrow mindedness.

FRESH GROUNDS FOR RECONSIDERATION OF PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

1 *Failure of Regional Formula*

(*a*) Punjabi has not so far been introduced as second language in Hindi Region.

(*b*) Hindi Regional Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on 10th May, 1960 revoking the language provisions of the formula.

(*c*) The Govt. has not been earnest on enforcing this formula even in the Punjabi Region. Punjabi has not been given its proper place in about 30 offices of the Region and only 15 to 20 % work is being carried in Punjabi in the offices of the Deputy Commissioners.

(*d*) This is well known that the Government and all other authorities admit that the regional formula has not been worked.

2 *Maharashtra and Gujarat Public Opinion*

Maharashtra and Gujarat was formed without recording the consensus. After the general elections held in 1957, it was contended by the Congress that the votes it polled in the state were votes in favour of the bilingual set up. And much was made of the fact that the Congress polled more votes than the combined vote of the Samiti and the Mahagujrat Parishad. The subsequent decision to divide the state was taken without plebiscite on the issue. This does not mean that the decision to divide the Bombay State into Maharashtra and Gujarat was wrong. But it is definitely wrong and discriminative that the formation of Punjabi Suba be shelved on flimsy grounds. Public opinion is clear and more vocal in favour of Punjabi Suba and Haryana now. About 80 % of the legislators are reported to have expressed their opinion in favour of reorganisation of the State on linguistic basis.

3 *Indo-Pak conflict*

Opponents of Punjabi Suba had been trying to raise doubts about the loyalties of the Sikhs to their country but the recent

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conflict between India and Pakistan has amply proved that the Sikhs have stood the test and their loyalties and patriotism stands more than justified.

4 *Demand is no longer communal*

The demand for a Punjabi Suba is not at all communal and this has been recognised by the national leaders. It has the support of many secular and non-communal organizations such as C.P.I., P.S.P., Republican Party and Socialist Party besides the Akali Dal, Jan Sangh and Congress parties are divided on the issue.

5 *Census of* 1961

It is distressing to note that narrowminded Arya Smajists of Jullundur Division disowned Punjabi as mother tongue during the census of 1961. This tendency in 1961 assumed tremendous dimensions as the following figures of only one district similar to others will show :

Hoshiarpur Distt.	1891	99. 9%	Punjabi	Speaking	people
	1911	99. 4%	"	"	"
	1921	99. 9%	"	"	"
	1931	99. 8%	"	"	"
	1961	47.00%	"	"	"

All this will prove the expediency of forming a Punjabi Suba so that lying at community level should stop.

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APPENDIX 1

THE HINDUS

The following districts show growth rates of more than 25 per cent during the decade among the Hindus.

Punjab

1.	Bha'inda	47.49
2.	Jullundur	54.19
3.	Hissar	43.94
4.	Amritsar	43.92
5.	Gurdaspur	42.59
6.	Sangrur	39.70
7.	Kapurthala	34.53
8.	Ferozepore	34.08
9.	Karnal	32.88
10.	Patiala	32.22
11.	Ambala	31.06
12.	Gurgaon	27.44
13.	Rohtak	26.72

APPENDIX II

TARA SINGH ACCUSES PUNJAB POLICE OFFICIALS FOR RIOTING

PARTITION OF BENGAL

The Hindu Mahasabha leaders in Calcutta and a number of leading Hindus from Noakhali met the Sikh leader at a conference today and had a discussion with him on the communal situation in the Punjab and Bengal.

Master Tara Singh told them that the problems of the Punjab and Bengal were similar. He assured the Bengal Mahasabha

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leader s of the Punjab's co-operation and help in her fight against Pakistan. "If Bengal and the Punjab combine, there will be no Pakistan in India", he added. He supported the move taken by the Hindu Mahasabha for the partition of Bengal.

On behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, President, handed over a cheqeue of Rs. 5,000/- to Master Tara Singh for relief work in the Punjab as the first instalment of the contribution of Bengal Hindu Mahasabha. The Mahasabha has already sent Rs. 10,000 to Dr. Gokal Chand Narang and Capt. Keshab Ch andra of Amritsar.

APPENDIX III

AKALIS TO RESIST FORMATION OF LEAGUE MINISTRY IN PUNJAB

Anti-Pakistan Day to be observed on March, 11

LAHORE, Mar. 3. Panthic Akali MLAs who held a meeting immediately after the Punjab Assembly adjourned this afternoon, passed a resolution declaring their firm resolve that they would oppose with all their strength, inside and outside the Assembly, establishment of a Muslim League Government so long as its objective was Pakistan or Muslim domination in the Punjab—the homeland of the Sikhs, Later the Akali Sikh MLAs marched out in a procession, headed by Master Tara Singh, shouting 'Pakistan Murdabad' and 'Sat Sri Akal' and 'Jo Bole so Nihal.'

The Akali Sikhs' determination not to stand any Muslim domination of the Sikhs and the demonstration of the Sikh leaders before the Assembly fore-shadows a grim struggle by the Sikhs in opposing the domination of Muslims, however, great the sacrifices the Sikhs may have to make.

Anti-Pakistan Day

An Anti-Pakistan Day will be celebrated all over the Punjab on March 11 to protest against the proposed establishment of a purely communal Ministry in the province.

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This was announced by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, M.L.A. and a veteran Congress leader, at huge public meeting held here at Kapurthala House in the evening under the auspices of Lahore City District Congress Committee. He also announced the holding of Anti-Pakistan Conference at a date to be announced later.

He called upon all Punjabis who did not subscribe to the ideology of Pakistan to celebrate the Anti-Pakistan Day by staging strikes in schools and colleges, closing, their shops and business premises, by holding public meetings and hoisting their national flags.

Master Tara Singh expressed the resolve of the Akali Party to fight Pakistan to the last ditch, "Sikhs will in no case tolerate communal domination in the Punjab which is their homeland, he said announcing his Party's decision to raise a huge volunteer army of the Sikh National Guard.

Chaudhari Lehri Singh emphasised the need for keeping the atmosphere in the province peaceful "so that our understanding of the delicate problems facing the Punjab may not be confused", "Our fight", he pointed out, "is not against the Muslims but against their ideology of Pakistan."

Sardar Partap Singh characterized the dissolution of Punjab Coalition Ministry as the "beginning of the battle for freedom in the Punjab." "Punjab for the Punjabis" is my message to you, he said.

APPENDIX IV

Extract from 'The Civil & Military Gazette' Lahore
March 25, 1947.

The Hindu Mahasabha leaders in Calcutta and a number of leading Sikhs met Master Tara Singh yesterday and had a discussion with him on the communal situation in the Punjab.

Master Tara Singh told them that the problems of the Punjab and Bengal were similar and he assured the Bengal Mahasabha leaders of the Punjab's co-operation and help in their fight against Pakistan. "If Bengal and the Punjab combine," he declared, "there will be no Pakistan in India".

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He supported the move taken by the Hindu Mahasabha for the Partition of Bengal. On behalf of the Bengal Provincial Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the President, handed over a cheque of Rs. 5,000/- to Master Singh for relief work in the Punjab as the first instalment of the contribution of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha.

The Mahasabha has already sent Rs. 10,000/- to Dr. Gokal Chand Narang and Mr. Keshab Chandra of Amritsar. Later, addressing a meeting at Gurdwara Jagat Sudhar, Master Tara Singh said that the recent happenings in the Punjab were not communal disturbances. They were the beginning of a civil war in India, and because of the geographical position of the Punjab India's fate would be decided there. Master Tara Singh said that the Sikhs would not tolerate any Muslim-dominated Ministry in the Punjab. The Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab would revolt against any such Ministry, though there might be heavy odds in their way.

A cheque for Rs. one lakh was handed over to Master Tara Singh on behalf of the Punjabis in Calcutta as the first instalment of their contribution for the relief of sufferers in the Punjab.

A sum of Rs. 1 Lakh was presented to Master Tara Singh by Lala Karam Chand Thappar on behalf of the Punjab Hindu Sikh Sabha, Calcutta, as the first instalment, the target being Rs. 10 lakhs. Out of this Rs. 450,000/- have been earmarked for relief work in riot-affected areas, while Rs. 50,000/- to be spent at Master Tara Singh 's discretion . A.P.I.

Golden Temple Diwan

In the morning a largely attended diwan was held in Guruka Bagh, Manji Sahib (Golden Temple) where prominent Hindu and Sikh leaders, including Master Tara Singh, Jathedar Udham Singh Nakoke, M.L.A., Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, M.L.A., Principal Ganga Singh, Captain Keshab Chandar and Dr. Bhagat Ram Sehgal, delivered vigorous speaches criticising H.M.G.'s plan as adversely affecting the Sikhs. They anticipated a serious struggle if the solidarity of the Sikhs was not maintained.

Old and New Delhi on Tuesday observed almost a complete hartal. All the Hindu and Sikhs business premises were closed to mark their protest against the proposed partition

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